

# PEACE NEWS

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## RUSSIA CASTS NEW SHADOW ON HOPES FOR UNO

### What now of Big Three unity?

**T**HE prophets of doom have had things all their own way this week. It would be difficult to imagine any act more calculated to increase Britain's suspicions of Russia, or—equally important—to diminish men's not very sanguine hopes of UNO than the manoeuvre of Russia to smother the appeal of Persia to the Security Council, and have a smack at Britain, by calling the attention of the Council to Greece and Indonesia. Russia asks the Council to enquire into the continued presence of British troops in these two countries on the ground that it is an interference in their internal affairs.

Apparently, Mr. Vyshinsky stayed away from UNO in order to plan it; and he seems to have done his work pretty thoroughly, to a time-table. As soon as Mr. Vyshinsky appeared in London, the Persian Premier was replaced by one who proposes to open direct negotiations with Russia; two days later, it was reported that the Greek Foreign Minister, who leads the Greek delegation to UNO, is about to resign "because he is reluctant to oppose the Russian claim." All that is now required to complete the pattern is that the Indonesian leader should follow the lead of M. Sophianopoulos.

#### That Handclasp

**I**T is not surprising that Mr. Bevin was hard put to it to keep his temper. I have seldom seen a funnier photograph than that of Mr. Bevin and Mr. Vyshinsky "shaking hands," which went the round of the Press on Saturday last. It should have been called Mr. B. trying not to shake hands with Mr. V.

Nevertheless, I cannot help feeling that it is, on the whole, a good thing that the realities of the tussle of power-politics have been thus nakedly displayed at the very beginning of UNO instead of being concealed under a mass of diplomatic verbiage. If Russia intends to go on behaving as she has behaved in the past fortnight,

### Observer's Commentary

with her state-controlled wireless pouring out a spate of anti-British propaganda, then the idea of Big Three collaboration and mutual conciliation, without which (as Russia is never tired of insisting) UNO cannot work, becomes palpable nonsense.

#### Russian Preference

**T**HE best thing that could happen, said the New Statesman (Jan. 26) is a prompt and full inquiry into all three cases. We agree. But that is the best thing from the British point of view. There was, and is, no reason to suppose that it was the best thing from the Russian. The rulers of Russia are immune from the desire—peculiar to Western constitutional nations—to court full public inquiry into their actions. They have a definite preference for methods of secrecy, and have none of our embarrassing attachment to trial by jury. Habeas Corpus and the rest of it. So that we have the curious situation of Britain pressing for public

### When the colour comes back . . .

**S**AY it without flowers. Every delegate must be carrying this instruction in his portfolio, to judge by the UNO Assembly speeches. But the sober realism in most of these speeches may prove worth more than a box-full of colourful oratorical tricks. As one of the delegates told me, "The world will find its own colours when red comes back to the cheeks of Europe's hungry children and when our starved lands are again green with young corn. I think your Mr. Bevin sees that as clearly as anybody."

—Reynolds, Jan. 20.

## German ration cut BELOW 1500 CALORIE MINIMUM BUT OUR 2800 MAY BE INCREASED

**M**R. J. B. HYND, CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER AND MINISTER RESPONSIBLE FOR GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, SAID IN LONDON ON JAN. 25 THAT THE FOOD SITUATION IN BOTH COUNTRIES WAS WORSENING.

In Germany the minimum of 1,550 calories, which had been maintained hitherto, would have to be reduced. In Austria Unrra would soon be taking over, and the sharing of supplies, while helping areas where conditions were critical, might mean reduced rations for the rest. (Times, Jan. 26).

### Attlee says "No"

**T**HE Government has refused to give an undertaking that British rations will not be increased while there is famine in Europe.

The suggestion of such a limitation of our food (not to apply to special categories, such as expectant mothers, children, and heavy workers) was made in a memorial presented to the Prime Minister by Mr. Victor Gollancz, and signed by several hundred religious leaders, MP's and eminent people in art and science.

In his reply Mr. Attlee said that the Government would not think it right "to make the standard of life of its people dependent on conditions,

### ON THE MOVE AGAIN

PRAGUE. Saturday.

**\* O**RGANIZED exodus of the German population from Czecho-Slovakia has begun.

A transport was due to leave Krnov today and trains will continue to leave each day.

The removal started last night, when 1,200 women, children and elderly men boarded a train for Furstenwalde, from where it would go to Bavaria, the American zone.

—Evening Standard, Jan. 26.

however brought about, in countries over which they have no control."

There is, he adds, little prospect of increase in rations, but it may be necessary to make variations to secure the increased home productions upon which exports depend. Meanwhile the Government will take "every practicable step" to continue relief to Europe.

(See back page)

## The Outlook in France

The author of this article has been for many years an active French member of the WRI. He was formerly editor of "Le Semeur," a well-known anarchist and pacifist paper, remained in Normandy throughout the war and occupation, and is now trying to restart his paper.

**T**HE situation in France is still a very confused one, the chief cause being the economic difficulties which seem to be getting worse, especially when one remembers that my fellow-countrymen, trusting in the broadcast announcements which preceded the invasion, had believed that liberation would see the end of their miseries. Liberation has taken place, a year has passed, but never have we been subject to so many restrictions. Our policy of military prestige, which makes us look ridiculous in the eyes of foreigners, because of our inability to maintain it, does not tend to improve matters.

Our country is ruined for years to come. It would have been wiser, and by no means dishonourable, to have left to our richer and less damaged allies the task of occupying Germany and to have set to work the 400,000 young men, now being wasted, as well as the lorries and petrol being used by the Army. Such a policy would have contributed more to the recovery of France than the present power-politics which is certainly winning us the distrust of our allies. Nevertheless one can already see among us a reaction against this prestige policy, so incompatible with our present situation, and so utterly wasteful.

#### Augean stables

In the name of national unity, our country continues to be divided by purgings which recall the days of the wars of religion. The Pétain trial has not served to cleanse the Augean stables, the responsibilities go back much further than the deeds of which the Marshal was accused. The witness of Daladier and Reynaud has not increased their prestige, after all they had done to defy the old man. I am not seeking to defend him or the means by which he obtained power. What I do know, having lived through it, is that in June, 1940, when a sixth of the population were miserable refugees on the roads and the French Army was disintegrating, he was

everywhere looked upon as a saviour. At that time 99 per cent. of Frenchmen were for him; and if he became head of the state it was with the constitutional approval of the Chamber of Deputies and Senate. Many of those who denounce him today were congratulating him for months after his accession to power. For two years the USA sent him an ambassador. So one may well be sceptical about his betrayal. If the populace has turned against him now, one must not forget the wild enthusiasm with which he was received a few weeks before the Allied invasion. It is certain that there are still many supporters of Pétain, and this does not make for peace in a country torn by the rancours and miseries of war.

#### The constitutional issue

At present the constitutional issue is under discussion; whether we are to be governed by one chamber or two. I am sure people would much rather that the Government were occupied in feeding them and restoring the destroyed houses. For my part, I do not think the future of France depends on whether we have one chamber or two, but on a radical change in our way of life, contaminated as it is by war and occupation.

On the other hand, a big effort at recovery is being made, but the destruction has been too great to allow of a rapid re-establishment of our economy, paralysed by an all-powerful bureaucracy. France needs the support of her more favoured allies to heal her wounds, which are deep and may have dangerous social and international repercussions. I fear the Communist Party's victory will only complicate the international situation: the Government will be fatally torn between the advocates of a West-European policy and those who seek inspiration from Russia.

Yesterday we were one of the three or four nations whose voices counted in international affairs. Now we have sunk to the third rank—assuming, as many Frenchmen do, that the USA and the USSR now occupy the first rank and that Britain, despite a Pyrrhic victory, like France in 1918,

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

inquiry into her own actions, and the Russians pulling all their very solid wires to prevent even that.

Moreover, it is by no means to be taken for granted that Britain will win even "a moral victory"—for a moral victory (if it is not merely a euphemism for a political defeat) depends on a majority of nations having the courage to declare their belief that the British method is just and the Russian not. They may believe it, but it grows more and more uncertain whether they have the courage to declare it. Europe is scared stiff of Russia.

But how can UNO function except on the principle of public inquiry? The root of the difficulty is that Britain desperately wants UNO to function. Russia does not.

#### Idealism Offended

**I**T is possible, however, that the Russians have been too clever. Following their obvious effort—at the recent Moscow conference—to drive a wedge between USA and Britain, they have chosen two matters (Greece and Indonesia) upon which there has been much criticism of Britain in the American Press. The Isolationists and the progressives have combined to belabour Britain. Dealing with a naive President, and a woefully inexperienced Secretary of State, the Russians so far have found it easy work to persuade USA to leave Britain "out on a limb." But when it comes to sabotaging UNO they may find that they have caused deep and lasting resentment in USA. The USA attitude to UNO is very different from ours. A great many Americans are concerned, almost in spite of themselves, for the prestige of something which they regard almost as an American invention. They would be satisfied if it appeared to work; Britain's desperate need is that it shall work.

But the Russians seem determined that UNO shall not even appear to work. Had they been cleverer, I think they would have taken pains not to offend the abstract idealism of USA, while continuing to undermine the British position.

#### Decay of Europe

**M**EANWHILE, the decay of Europe proceeds. Mr. Hynd has said that the minimum of 1,550 calories, which has hitherto been maintained in the British zone, is now to be reduced; and the first effect of Unrra taking over in Austria, as it is now doing, would probably be a reduction of rations in the better-fed areas. In Austria, of course, nothing approaching a minimum of 1,550 calories has been attained: it is below 1,000 in Vienna. According to Mr.

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

### HOW YOU CAN HELP PEACE NEWS

**I**F a disappointing drop in the sales of Peace News is to be avoided, it is necessary that a much more determined effort should be made to increase the sales through the newsagents. It is not enough to tell those who previously received the paper through a group distributor that they can now obtain it by ordering it through a newsagent. It is imperative to see that they do so order it, and, since there are always delays in a change-over of this kind, to see that they are supplied with Peace News right up to the moment when they actually receive it through the newsagent.

But I would appeal in particular to those who are making the change to order, for a period of six months, two copies instead of one through the newsagent, and to use the extra one on distribution. Thus they will accustom the trade to a steady flow of orders for Peace News and diminish the danger of our falling between two stools.

Meanwhile my grateful thanks to those who are loyally supporting the Peace News Fund during this difficult and trying period.

#### THE EDITOR.

Contributions since Jan. 18: £21 1s. 10d. Total for 1946: £55 18s. 4d.



## LUCKY SAXONY

CORRESPONDENTS of journals as politically distant from each other as the Daily Herald and the Daily Express have sent home what can only be described as glowing accounts of conditions in Saxony, in the Russian zone. They are unanimous in saying that they were allowed to go anywhere and see what they wanted. Chiefly they were impressed by the scale on which industrial production has been resumed. It has now reached one-third of peace-time production. It is mainly confined to light industries, indeed; but the list of products displayed at an industrial exhibition at Dresden—from lawn-mowers to convenient portable stoves which will cook a meal on a few wood-chips—is enough to make the British consumer's mouth water. (Can it be that Germany, not having to worry about its export trade, or to keep millions of soldiers equipped and under arms, will achieve a consumer-economy long before the rest of the world?)

It is difficult from the accounts to get a clear picture of the economic set-up. A proportion of the goods produced is earmarked for Russia on reparations account. Out of a state budget of £8,625,000 for the last three months of 1945, £750,000 was set aside as payment to firms which had provided goods for Russia. £6,000,000 of the state-income during this period was yielded by a heavy tax on alcohol (mainly in the form of schnapps distilled from potatoes). There is strict control of key-industries such as the production of food and coal—the latter of which has been increased from 600,000 tons in May last to 2,000,000 tons in December. But the industry has not been nationalized, though there is talk of doing so. Otherwise there has been no interference at all with private industry, which is making good profits. Moreover, the correspondent of the Daily Herald reports that "the reconstruction of houses, factories, transport systems and cultural centres is proceeding at a pace well in advance of that set by the powers in Western Germany."

It would be less than fair not to give these unanimous accounts of conditions in an important part of the Russian zone full weight in any judgment of Russian policy. The evidence is that the Russians are doing as good a job of work in most respects in Saxony as the British are in the British zone; and a much better one in the most important respect of all. They are allowing the Saxons a degree of economic freedom and initiative far exceeding that which is permitted in Western Germany.

Two considerations occur to us. First, that Saxony is, par excellence, the region of light industry in Germany; and light industry, for obvious reasons, has a much better chance of unfettered activity than heavy industry in occupied Germany. The second is that, largely for the same reason, in Saxony the removal of capital equipment is over and done with. In Western Germany, on the other hand, the final decision on this all-important matter has yet to be taken. Nobody yet knows how much of the capital equipment there is to be removed or destroyed. Saxony knows the worst, not only economically, but politically as well. Her frontier with Poland is settled. Nobody proposes that Saxony as it is today shall not be part of the Germany of the future.

The moral is that so long as considerations of "security" are dominant and prevent definite decisions on the future of Germany, so long will German vitality and initiative be paralyzed. The Russians are doing a good job in Saxony largely because they had the power themselves to fix the conditions in which a good job can be done.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

## "The changing nature of Pacifism" WILFRED WELLOCK argues that wars will cease

PACIFISM like every other spiritual principle changes its nature and meaning from decade to decade. As knowledge grows and understanding deepens, the truth of every great spiritual teaching acquires new content and thus a deeper significance, and so influences policy and conduct.

There is no more virtue in being able to say that one's pacifism never changes than in being able to say one's features never change. I confess that my pacifism has never ceased to change; it is undergoing a radical change at the present time, for which reason my faith in its regenerative power is stronger than ever.

The term pacifism is a product of the present century. In 1914 its meaning was adequately expressed in the phrase: "Wars will cease when men refuse to fight." Its meaning for me today would be far better expressed in the phrase: "Wars will cease when men learn how to live."

### Anti-social ends

The former conception restricts the application of pacifism to the act of refusing to take part in war, whereas the latter conception assumes that war arises from the pursuit of anti-social ends by governments and by individuals, and will continue so long as such ends operate.

The stages through which pacifism has passed in bridging the gulf between these two viewpoints are important. The pacifist of the past usually assumed a wicked enemy who attacked an innocent nation. He then argued that war might be staved off or ended by the simple device of turning the other cheek. But a careful study of modern industrialism revealed the startling fact that modern wars are not the outcome of the wickedness of one nation alone, but generally of a keen struggle between hot competitors for the world's markets, for Colonies and other forms of economic monopoly. The power politics of our time, in which every major industrial power

# WHEN MEN LEARN HOW TO LIVE

is involved, is the product of the desire for maximum exports of manufactured goods.

This discovery gave rise to the argument that power politics is the product of capitalism and that the key to peace is socialism. It is now the fashion in socialist and in some pacifist circles to proclaim that world peace is dependent upon world socialism. I disagree.

At the moment we have a communist Russia, a socialist Britain and a communist-socialist majority in France, yet the promise of peace is as remote as ever. Soviet Russia is operating a vigorous power politics along all her frontiers, insisting that all her near neighbours adopt constitutions and policies which harmonize with her own. Socialist Britain is pursuing the traditional capitalist policy of a maximum export trade in manufactured goods in order to maintain and raise her standard of living, and is puzzling every part of her empire and seriously jeopardizing the future of Germany by an obvious conflict between her policy and her much publicised good intentions. What matters is policy, and no socialist will deny that the old policy, under whatever new name, must produce the old results. French politics reveal the same hopeless contradictions.

This situation confirms a conclusion to which I came some time ago, namely, that the real cause of war today is no longer capitalism but materialism, which now affects almost the entire community. The demand for maximum profits for the few has been superseded by the demand for a rising and limitless standard of living for the many.

### Materialism run riot

The tragic character of this demand lies in the fact that a maximum standard of living is no standard at all, but is materialism run riot. The man with £4 a week wants £6, the man with £10 wants £20, the man with £1,000 a year wants £3,000, while the man with £10,000 wants £20,000. The lower social grades hanker after a baby car, the middle grades after a

car of the Wolseley order, and the higher grades after a Rolls-Royce. And what applies to cars applies to almost everything—dress, food, housing, drinks, smokes, entertainment, pleasures, the style and scale of one's living altogether. M.Ps, Parliamentary Secretaries, Cabinet Ministers, labourers, craftsmen, the clergy and Trade Union leaders are all in the scramble equally with the capitalists who now include most of the foregoing categories:

### Socialist power politics

These plain simple facts blow sky high the theory that world socialism will bring world peace. According to present indications, world socialism will bring world materialism, while the pursuit of a limitless standard of living for the common man will force upon socialist governments a very similar power politics to that which the pursuit of maximum profits forced upon capitalist governments.

In these circumstances I contend that the freeing and harnessing of atomic energy will solve neither the world's economic problems nor the problem of war. A civilization that has no finer objective than to scale up the standard of living from £150 a year to £10,000 a year must sooner or later run amok. In any case it will be physically and spiritually incapable of surviving and will perish either from internal rotteness and social strife or from war. In other words, given a materialism of the type that is now developing all over the world, there is no hope of salvation on the political level.

On what level, then, should pacifist action take place, and to what end or ends should it be directed?

## N.P.C. letter to Premier

THE Rev. Henry Carter, CBE, and Mr. Carl Heath, on behalf of the National Peace Council, have sent a letter to Mr. Attlee in regard to the British attitude towards Germany's economic and industrial future. Claiming that if the de-industrialization proposals of the Potsdam declaration are carried out millions of Germans will be reduced to a living standard below the subsistence level, the letter urges that decisions in this matter should pay primary regard to the longer-term interests of all the European peoples as well as to the obligation of the Allies to fulfil their moral responsibilities to the German people. The signatories to the letter accept the necessity to prevent a renewed German aggression but submit that if the effect is to destroy also "the foundations of civilized life on the European continent," no safeguards for security and peace will be of any avail.

Arguing that the only constructive way out of the dilemma is to treat the question at the European rather than at the German level, the letter concludes:

"We would strongly urge His Majesty's Government to press for an amended policy towards Germany which would abandon the present virtual spoliation of her economic and industrial resources, and would substitute a controlled reorganization and use of these resources not only to avert an impending human tragedy in Germany itself but also to make possible the recovery and planned development of Europe as a whole."

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## LETTERS

### M.P.s and the Dollar Loan

MR. WHITTEN would perhaps be less severe in his criticism of my judgment of the motives of many M.P.s who voted, or declined to vote, on the American Loan issue if he had heard, as I have done, a Labour member say "I don't like this business, but I must support the Party"; or a Conservative say: "I am going to wait and see how many are going into the 'no' lobby and I understand that many other members are going to do the same."

He might also be more patient with my "arrogance" if for years he had advocated monetary reform to be met with sneers, evasions or bored lack of interest but never with a single weighty and reasoned argument.

That in a body the size of Parliament some honest men may ponder a subject deeply and reach different conclusions from oneself I do not dispute. My criticism was, however, based on personal observations of very widespread trends of thought and action.

BEDFORD.

Crowholt, Woburn,  
Bletchley, Bucks.

Those who would dismiss the subject as a "narrow currency problem" do not damage the Duke of Bedford's case, but their own; and reveal grave ignorance of the realities. The truth is, that the most urgent of all reforms is the rendering National, not mere functioning, but the organism of CREDIT; and unless Mr. Whitten is a very old gentleman, he will live to regret his misdirected attack on one who is a highly respected authority on his subject and who sees—as a seer does—the essentials. Probably the masses are not "fond of war" but if hating it, they must suffer from the evidence of where their treasure is. Truth has often to be characterized as cold. Adult minds will give it a warm welcome.

JOHN Wm. RATRAY.

Barnhill, Dundee.

That, with a few outstanding exceptions, the ignorance and wrong-headedness among our legislators about financial and currency matters is something deplorable has been the opinion of a number of persons fairly qualified to judge. That this was the cause of much bewilderment at the time Bretton Woods and the dollar loan were being debated was also apparent. That in these circumstances some honest men, after "pondering deeply," conscientiously disagreed about the right course to be taken is, no doubt, true enough. We

know, too, that 98 M.P.s from both sides of the House defied their Whips and Party leaders, for reasons best known to themselves, just did as they were told.

I, for one, see nothing "shamefully arrogant" in the Duke of Bedford's comment on these facts. Further, if—as is only too probable—the machinations of International Finance were among the chief, though unconvicted, causes of the war just ended, and, by the same token, are among the chief menaces to future world peace, then it is a pity that when views informed by awareness of this are expressed in PN they should be singled out for Mr. Howard Whitten's rather acrimonious criticism.

To touch on such things in a tone of irony is not the same as "sneering." It is simply one more way of pinching certain minds awake.

DION BYNGHAM.

"Pine Hoath," Beckley,  
Near Rye, Sussex.

### Two cheeks to turn

It is comparatively easy, for any thinking man or woman, to feel righteous indignation at the thought of Europe starving, the futile waste of war, international or national injustices, or religious intolerance. Is it so easy to be a practical pacifist in our every day lives? One very sincere pacifist I know, while waxing eloquent on these wider issues, is sometimes unbearably dogmatic and lacking in understanding, towards her own family circle. The Union stands for "relationships among men"—as well as nations. Let's put first things first and turn our own "other cheek" as well as working for our country to turn hers. All too often is the obvious overlooked!

E. M. STEELE.

87 Whittington Road, N.22.

### Capital punishment

My attention has been drawn to a statement in the article by Mr. Corder Catchpool in your issue of Jan. 11, which I cannot allow to pass unchallenged.

In reference to the general reversion to capital punishment, as a result of the war, by nations which had abolished it, Mr. Catchpool says that this has been done without a word of protest by the National Council for the Abolition of the Death Penalty. This statement is not in accord with the facts. The National Council has repeatedly expressed its sorrow at these backward steps in countries which have hitherto been in the van of progress in this matter and it is obvious that Mr. Catchpool has been unaware that these protests have been made. One of the difficulties, with which we have been contending in such matters is, of course, that it has been extremely difficult to get effective newspaper publicity during the war for protests of the kind he refers to.

JOHN PATON.

N.C.A.D.P., Parliament Mansions,  
Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.



DEREK DROOP  
AGAIN

DISCUSSION of the A.G.M.  
Should occupy next business  
meeting,  
And so we follow Derck Droop



Who raises questions at his group  
About the pledge; then checks a  
fleeing

Statement on finance with mention  
That money and the other business,  
(Resolutions are discussed)  
Like the census, needs attention.

Get your diary, book each date,  
Or you may write in too late.

## THESE ARE THE LATEST DATES

Area motions to Dick Sheppard House by Feb.  
11. Amendments from Areas by Mar. 25.  
Area Amendments to policy statements by  
Mar. 5.  
Applications for individual tickets (1s.);  
representatives' tickets, and requests for hos-  
pitality, together with 5s. fee, by Mar. 5.  
Nominations for Officers and National Council  
by Mar. 5.  
Applications for voting papers by Mar. 5.  
Completed voting papers returned by April 12.

## WHAT THE PPU STANDS FOR

This pledge, signed by each mem-  
ber is the basis of the Peace Pledge  
Union: "I renounce war and I will  
never support or sanction another."

If, after reading Peace News, you  
would like to know more about the  
PPU, write for information to: The  
General Secretary, PPU, Dick Shep-  
pard House, Endsleigh Street,  
London, W.C.1.

## "Those God Ideas"

by WINIFRED RAWLINS

IN a recent letter to "Peace News"  
there occurred these words: "It  
is all very nice for our friends who  
still get comfort from God and Christ  
ideas to get regular contributions in  
Peace News to sustain them. How-  
ever, I continually marvel at these  
friends who have been unmoved in  
their 'religious' beliefs by the last six  
years' show-down."

Unmoved by the last six years,  
show-down. Perhaps it is, after all,  
something to wonder at, considering  
the abyss we have reached. But the  
show-down of what? Not religion,  
surely, but a world which was trying  
to leave God out.

## Fundamental need

There has never been a period of  
human history when "God ideas"  
were not a fundamental need of men,  
whether they knew it or not. But  
whether those who held these ideas  
were capable of being unmoved by  
catastrophic circumstances has always  
depended entirely on the nature of the  
Ideas.

If the Omnipotent was a God of  
Battle, and your side got beaten—well,  
He had let you down badly and your  
faith wobbled to the ground. Or, if  
he was a God who rewarded people  
according to their deserts, and their  
children were born blind and good-  
living working-men were killed by a  
wall suddenly falling on them—well,  
it was all a mistake that He was omni-  
potent.

Or perhaps He is the Idea of In-  
evitable Progress; and then a world  
which has gone all out to amass  
material possessions, and forgotten  
that its most precious possessions are  
divine-human personalities, crashes  
almost beyond recovery—well, where  
are you then?

## Indefinite warning

But if He is Love and Truth; and  
the truth is that love is prepared to  
wait indefinitely for man to discover  
Him; and will not intervene, even if  
millions of Jewish children never grow  
up and German babies open their eyes  
only to die, because love cannot, in the  
very nature of things, use coercion;  
why then perhaps it is not so strange  
that some have been unmoved in their

faith all through these terrible six  
years.

Who can altogether solve the pro-  
blem of the child born to a brief  
moment of suffering followed by  
death? Does the answer lie hidden  
in the fact of the unity of all life?  
Or in the faith that if the ultimate  
reality is love, somewhere, somehow  
love will give the explanation?  
"Man was made for joy and woe;  
And when this we rightly know,  
Thro' the world we safely go."

## Catastrophe-proof

The God Ideas of William Blake  
were catastrophe-proof, and his safety  
is surely the only kind of safety that  
pacifists (or anyone else, for that  
matter) can expect to find in this  
world.

Whether we claim to be religious or  
political pacifists is much less impor-  
tant than the kind of ideas we hold  
about the nature of reality. If we  
have built ourselves a house on a  
treacherous piece of shifting sand, it  
is our own lack of understanding in  
choosing a site that we should blame  
when the storm comes; rather than  
say that houses are a poor kind of  
shelter after all, and we had better  
give up trying to build them. So let  
us take courage. Let us refuse to be  
overwhelmed by our apocalyptic  
world, and strive to gain, through a  
deeper understanding of what is hap-  
pening, an idea of reality (which is  
another name for God) which will be  
as proof against circumstance as  
Blake's was.

And when we achieve this we shall  
discover that a lot of our labels are  
irrelevant.

## An appeal to Indian patience

JAMES MAXTON'S views on pre-  
sent relations with India have  
been given following a meeting and  
some correspondence with Professor  
G. S. Dara, Chairman of the Gandhi  
Society.

"As you are aware," he says, "I  
have never hesitated to speak up in  
Parliament for India's complete  
independence, and, while whole-  
heartedly desiring great friendship,  
active co-operation and close alliance  
between our two countries, I do not  
believe that these can be achieved by  
compulsion of any kind.

The whole situation in Asia today  
would have been a much better one, if  
that had been conceded a number of  
years ago. It was somewhat of a  
disappointment to me that the  
Labour Government in its first state-  
ment on Indian policy did not go be-  
yond a reiteration of previous  
promises and the sending out of a

goodwill mission. None the less I feel  
that India and Indians should extend  
great tolerance and patience to this  
country and its government at the  
present time.

"You know how critical I have been of the  
Labour Party, its policy, methods, and form  
of organisation, over the last fifteen years  
and how it has been impossible for me to  
work within the limitations imposed by that  
Party for fourteen years. But I hope that  
you, who know the politics of this country  
and its politicians about as well as I do, will  
agree with me that the Labour Government is  
something different in essence from anything  
we have ever had in this country before, and  
that we are justified in giving it some time,  
both in affairs at home and abroad, to show  
the genuineness of its intentions.

"After all, both you and I have worked  
and waited for a long time now to see some  
of our hopes come to realization. As far as  
I can gather from somewhat meagre press  
reports the parliamentary mission is having  
a not too bad reception in India, and I hope  
that your friends and my friends out there  
will send them back fully impressed with the  
urgent need for effective actions."

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FEB. 8 Reginald Reynolds, "John  
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send full parties, as to experience,  
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**'OBSERVER' CONTINUED**

Lehman, 10,000 people will die of starvation in Warsaw. In Budapest the deaths "may reach a million."

"One person in ten in Poland has TB—the figure for Warsaw is one in five—it is rampant in Yugoslavia, and the Czechs say that out of 700,000 needy children 50 per cent. have been discovered to be tuberculous. Infant mortality in Berlin has doubled. In Budapest it has risen from 16 to 40 per cent. since September. There are no figures for the Ruhr, but English visitors have been told that very few new-born babies are expected to live this winter." (Economist, Jan. 26.)

The average American consumption of meat is up from 125 lb. in the pre-war years to 165 lb. Evidently, the USA fought for a fifth freedom for Europe—the freedom to starve.

**Secrecy about our stocks**

IT is imperative that Britain shall do what she can. It is frankly rather horrifying that a Labour government should cling to its secrecy with regard to the food-stocks held in this country. The secrecy is, in itself, disheartening; the suspicion to which it cannot fail to give rise, that the stocks are large enough to permit a good deal to be spared for Europe, but the Labour government will not risk the unpopularity, is demoralizing.

One expects the Labour government to behave with rather more humanity than its predecessor. It is behaving with less. The Coalition government spared nearly a million tons of food from its stocks last spring while the war was still on. The feeling grows that the Government is lacking in moral courage, desirable in any, but essential in a Socialist government. To shrink from making demands upon one's supporters—whether in the matter of food for Europe, or a coherent wages-policy at home—is the short way to failure.

**Ersatz Napoleon**

DE GAULLE'S resignation has brought a good deal of the Press round to the view of that ersatz Napoleon which I have put forward here for the last two years. For example:

"The French parties are now under a compelling obligation to make democracy work. If they fail, the stage will be effectively set for the triumph of Gaullist authoritarianism. And that is a prospect which no friend of France can contemplate without dismay." (Observer, Jan. 27.)

That is true enough. But it does not touch on the paradox that de Gaulle's has been a singularly weak government. He has shirked all the real decisions with which a French government is faced, if it is to be effective: drastic reform of the finances, stamping out the black market, and a purge of the bureaucracy (not of Vichyites, but of inefficients). De Gaulle's has been a caricature of strong government, which has sought the appearance of strength, in extravagant military expenditure, and neglected the reality, which is based on social justice and economic productivity. It would need a very different authoritarianism from de Gaulle's to get France out of her present difficulties. No matter what happens in France, I do not believe that de Gaulle will get back again.

**Charity and Efficiency**

THE recent death of Eleanor Rathbone should not go unlamented in these pages, although she was very far from being a pacifist. She had, however, something more important than pacifism—liberality of mind and generosity of heart. I came into personal contact with her only once, in connection with the care of the Spanish refugee children; and I was impressed by her combination of charity and efficiency. So that I was not in the least surprised to find her taking a leading part in the launching and organization of "Save Europe Now." It was in her character to be an enthusiastic supporter of what she believed to be a just war, while it was being waged, and the moment it was over to set about caring for the enemy: a character (I think) rather more masculine than feminine.

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**C.O. "RELEASE" BILL NOW IN THE LORDS**

THE National Service (Release of Conscientious Objectors) Bill has passed through all its stages in the Commons.

It was read a first time in the Lords on Jan. 23 and the Second Reading was due on Tuesday last.

At the Third Reading in the Commons on Jan. 22 the Amendments previously agreed in Committee were all accepted and the Minister of Labour formally moved a clause providing that

in the case of conditionally registered COs periods of detention or imprisonment should not be counted when they appeared to the Minister to have been imposed for offences "other than offences committed for reasons of conscience."

This means that the time spent in prison for not complying with a registration condition or refusing to fire-watch need not be taken off in working out a CO's priority for release.

An Opposition Amendment sought to make it obligatory upon the Minister to recall released COs to a Tribunal should there be another emergency. In the Bill as it stands the Minister has a discretion in the matter, though the possibility of any such recall is extremely remote. The Amendment was resisted by the Government, who promised to maintain equality with the Forces should any Army Groups be recalled.

**The Outlook in France**

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

has dropped to the second rank. Such a fall is bitterly resented by the great majority of Frenchmen who believed in the eternal power of their country. They cannot grasp that times have changed since we were the most numerous and united people of Europe, and that while we have been marking time, other nations have grown and achieved national unity. We are suffering, in my personal opinion, the tragic but inevitable consequences of the many wars we have waged during the past 300 years—wars which have turned the law of natural selection against us and bled us white. Today we are unable to make good these blood-lettings, and if one adds to these causes the fact that in modern war material and technical resources count more than the human factor, one has an obvious explanation of our present plight.

France is also surprised by the attitude of her allies towards international problems in which she is no longer being consulted. She thinks they are taking advantage of her weakness (which she regards as temporary) to deprive her of some of her conquests; she wonders whether any of her colonies will be left to her. The popular attitude has changed towards the liberators, who are now regarded as little better than profiteers and imperialists?

ALPHONSE BARBE.

**THREE NEW NPC PAMPHLETS**

THE first of this group of pamphlets is made up of material contributed by speakers at a conference on the theme of "Democracy and Peace" held in Oxford during April, 1945. Only one of the papers is reproduced in its entirety (that of Mr. Christopher Dawson). In it two conceptions of democracy are distinguished: the democracy of the English-speaking peoples, a constitutional democracy essence of which is the recognition and representation of the minority, and the acceptance by the majority of some limitation to its powers; and, the democracy based on the sovereignty of the general will and first realised in practice by the Jacobin party in the French Revolution. In many respects this distinction is a fruitful one but it clearly widens the notion of democracy to include what are, in fact, two basically different attitudes to man and society.

Mr. Middleton Murry, who spoke at the conference, is quoted as saying: "Democracy is a system under which there is complete freedom to organise peaceful opposition to the government in power. To this end, freedom of speech, freedom of the Press, and freedom of association guaranteed by

DEMOCRACY AND PEACE. Christopher Dawson and Malcolm Spencer. 6d.

NEW MODEL FOR EUROPE? 6d.

THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. A Commentary by David Mitrany, Gilbert Murray, G. D. H. Cole, Norman Bentwich and Rita Hinden. 1s. All published by the National Peace Council.

**TEXT OF REPLY TO 'SAVE EUROPE NOW'****Six Archbishops signed the rejected Memorial**

WHEN sending the memorial, on behalf of "Save Europe Now" (reported on front page), to the Prime Minister, Mr. Gollancz recalled that more than 60,000 rank and file citizens, including many housewives with small and large families, had voluntarily offered to "cut" their existing rations.

The terms of the memorial were:

"Taking note of the statement by the Foreign Secretary on Nov. 23 that 'hunger and privation may bring a further terrific human loss more devastating even than the atomic bomb,' we earnestly beg that without prejudice to the claims of special categories such as children, nursing and expectant mothers, and heavy workers, general rations in this country should not be raised so long as there is famine on the Continent of Europe."

**Eminent Signatories**

The signatories included the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster and four other RC Archbishops, the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council, the Primus of the Episcopal Church of Scotland and the Chief Rabbi, with 95 other leading churchmen. There were also 87 MP's, heads of universities and colleges, headmasters and headmistresses, the President, secretary and 77 members of the Royal Society, trade union and co-operative leaders, and medical men, including Lord Horder.

After giving the general reply (summarised on page 1) Mr. Attlee continued:

"I must recall to you that the Government have exerted themselves to the utmost to send relief to Europe, and as you have been told, they will continue to take every practicable step to this end. For example, we have made available large sums of money and supplies of all kinds, including food, for UNRRA. We have limited our own demands of overseas produce so that more might be available for relief purposes."

"In addition, although we ourselves depend for our very existence on imported food we have reduced emergency stocks accumulated with great difficulty and sacrifice during the war, and this reduction will continue until stocks reach the bare minimum below which orderly distribution in this country would be imperilled."

"Any further increase in food supplies for the relief of Europe must come from the food exporting countries in the shape not only of food, but also of transport, and HM Government are doing all they can in consultation with these countries to help towards this end. Indeed, HM Government and the country as a whole have every reason to be proud of the lead they are giving in these matters."

**S. Africa "un-bans" PN**

Readers may like to know that Peace News may again be posted to South Africa. We have heard from the High Commissioner that following representations we had made, the postal ban imposed in that country in May, 1941, has now been lifted.

Contact with the Union has in the meantime been restricted.

Irene Barclay, Dr. Albert Belden, Dennis Davis, Rev. Patrick Figgis, Donald Port, Dr. Donald Soper, Rev. Martin Tupper, Len White, Howard Whitten, Dr. Alex Wood, Ken Woodroffe and others on  
The People, Culture and Institutions of a peaceful society.  
Your Job in Political Party, Church, Community Association and Street.  
Work in Progress in group, service team, N.C.C., on the land and by propaganda.  
Dennison House Hall, London, S.W.1, March 9-10. Tickets (3/6) from Phoenix (Conference), 7 Northampton Park, London, N.1  
PACIFISM IN TRANSITION  
a Phoenix conference

**CATARRH**

THIS commonest of all disease conditions amongst civilised peoples, greatly impairs mental efficiency, lowers resistance to infection, and generally debilitates its innumerable victims. The true remedy is to de-toxicate the system, restore the clean bloodstream of youth, and then reform the diet and other habits of living.

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Allysol Company, Fairlight, Sussex

**London WRI conference extended**

The London Area Conference on WRI has been extended, and those intending to come are asked to note that there will be an additional session on Sun. afternoon Feb. 17.

**WORDS OF PEACE - No. 159**

The crowning lesson is to obliterate;  
For men remember, but the gods forget,  
Dwelling immortal high above regret,  
While human clay is dried to dust by hate.  
Happy are they who drink the opiate  
Of loving-kindness, and whose lips are wet.  
With Letha, undefiled by any threat  
Or grudge against their fellow-men or fate.  
So, in His mercy, God created pain  
And all the ills by which our virtues live;  
He softened sunshine with mysterious, dim  
Shadows of suffering and sorrow's rain;  
Giving to each one something to forgive,  
The only gift that ye may share with Him.  
—Lord Vansittart.

law are absolutely necessary. Without these basic freedoms, democracy is inconceivable." That is democracy as we in England understand it. Democracy may not be the right word for it; it does not matter. What does matter is that we should be quite clear about the fundamental antithesis between our conception and practice and the Jacobin-Russian conception and practice. It is no use blurring the edges as the remainder of this pamphlet does.

**Western economic union**

The democratic forms of Britain and Western Europe are distinguished by a respect for the human person, his freedom and dignity, and it seems to me that it is on a federation of those nations with this common tradition that the future of human freedom may depend. In the pamphlet "New Model for Europe" (reprinted from The Economist) the economic basis of an association of six of the Western Powers is explored. The argument of the pamphlet is that "a closer association for mutual profit of the Western European nations is not so much a policy to be proclaimed or denounced as a practical necessity imposed by the facts of international life in the middle of the twentieth century." So there is, perhaps, a pragmatic as well as an ideological tendency towards a co-operation of the Western Powers, and since it is not directed against anybody it is a most hopeful sign that the notion is being seriously proposed in many quarters.

The other pamphlet here noted consists of the text of the United Nations Charter with a commentary on it by a number of experts. I cannot but think that a Charter based on the unilateral interest of the victorious powers offers very little hope of either justice or peace. The experts swallow this camel and go on to strain at gnats. But there are still people to be found who get hot under the collar at the mention of Munich and yet are quite cheerful at the super-Munichs of Yalta and Potsdam. Contradiction, however, is the father of all things.

CONAN NICHOLAS.

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